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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE XH RO

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: ACTIVITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE

REF: STATE 056127

1. SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS (1) FRESH READOUT FROM DEPUTY FONMIN GLIGA ON ROMANIA'S ATTITUDES ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATIONS (2) OUR ASSESSMENT OF GOR'S CURRENT APPROACH TO CSCE BASKETS; (3) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT STEPS IN GOR-USG DIALOGUE. WE CONCLUDE THAT ROMANIA'S INTEREST IN MAINTAINING POST-CSCE MOMENTUM IN EUROPE IS KEEN, THAT POST-HELSINKI EVENTS HAVE NOT ALL GONE HER WAY, THAT BASKET THREE PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN LACKLUSTER BUT, LIKE OTHER BASKETS, HAS DEVIATED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM SOVIET-COORDINATED EE NORM. MOUNTING IDEOLOGICAL NOISE BEFORE CONGRESS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE WILL NOT DO ROMANIA'S IMAGE MUCH GOOD, AS GOR'S POST-DECEMBER CSCE COSMETICS SEEM TO HAVE LAGGED

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BEHIND SOVIET'S AND OTHER EE NEIGHBORS. END SUMMARY.

2. LATEST "LIVE" SAMPLING OF CURRENT GOR ATTITUDES TOWARD CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WAS AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH DEPFONMIN GLIGA ON MARCH 12. GOR'S MOOD REMAINED GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC BUT CLOUDED. ALLUDING TO CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS AT GNA SESSION DECEMBER 18, PEOPLES COUNCILS CONGRESS FEBRUARY 4, AND IN PRESS INTERVIEWS, GLIGA THOUGHT HELSINKI SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN MANIFEST IN ITALIAN-YUGOSLAV BORDER AGREEMENT, ATHENS BALKAN CONFERENCE, AND VARIOUS BILATERAL STEPS AMONG EUROPEAN STATES. IN ALL BILATERAL CONTACTS GOR WAS BOOSTING CSCE AS PART OF LONGTERM PROCESS, GLIGA SAID, EVEN WITH AFRO-ASIANS TO WHOM GOR EXPLAINED THAT CSCE WAS "NOT DIRECTED AT ANYONE", BEING LEGITIMATELY PART OF WORLDWIDE DETENTE PROCESS. GLIGA PASSED UP CHANCE TO COMMENT ON USG'S JETTISONING OF WORD "DETENTE."

3. HOWEVER, GLIGA NOTED NEGATIVE ASPECTS WHICH IF AGGRAVATED COULD SLOW IMPLEMENTATION OF ACT: (1) "ABSOLUTIZING" ONE SECTION OF ACT IN RELATION TO OTHERS; ORIGINAL EQUILIBRIUM OF ALL THREE BASKETS WAS LABORIOUSLY ARRIVED AT AND THIS BALANCE NEEDS TO BE RETAINED WITHOUT INSISTENCE ON JUST ONE; (2) MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE TO DILUTE "BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH" WHICH UNFORTUNATELY STILL IS ALL TOO EVIDENT; ROMANIA HE RECALLED HAD PLACED SPECIAL STRESS ON THE PRINCIPLES PART OF THE ACT; IN ADDITION TO DESIRING DISSOLUTION OF MILITARY BLOCS, GOR REGRETS RECENT ACCENT FAVORING ECONOMIC BLOCS, FOR EXAMPLE, BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER'S REPORT ON EC INTEGRATION ;

ROMANIA LIKES ANYTHING WHICH ORIENTS EUROPE TOWARD "UNITY" RATHER THAN "EAST-WEST SPLIT"; (3) WESTERN PRESS AND PROPAGANDA HAD BEEN TOO NEGATIVE -- "UNOBJECTIVE BROADCASTING" BY RADIO FREE EUROPE FOR EXAMPLE -- AND MORE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PUT ON WHAT UNIFIES, NOT DIVIDES EUROPE; WHILE ADMITTING THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS DID NOT CONTROL ALL MEDIA, GLIGA THOUGHT MORE "POSITIVE GUIDANCE" MIGHT BE GIVEN; (4) GOR IS STILL DETERMINED TO EVOLVE "STRUCTURES" ADEQUATE FOR ENSURING NECESSARY EONTINUITY, AND BELGRADE MEETING IN 1977 WOULD BE ONLY ONE MOR STAGE IN GENERAL PROCESS. (COMMENT: ALLUSION TO RFE WAS FIRST TIME, TO EMBASSY'S KNOWLEDGE, THAT RANKING MFA SPOKESMAN HAS CRITIZED RFE DIRECTLY TO US, ALTHOUGH SECRETARY BUTZ GOT EARFUL FROM AGRICULTURAL MINISTER AT A NOVEMBER LUNCH). IN RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR DREW ON STATE 053991 (U.S. POLICY ON CSCE ISSUES) AND SUGGESTED TO GLIGA THAT PERIODIC MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR LIPATTI WOULD BE USEFUL FOR BOTH SIDES. GLIGA AGREED.

4. BASKET ONE. WE SEE LITTLE CHANGE IN ROMANIA'S BASIC OUTLOOK. GOR CONTINUES TO HOPE FOR CSCE FOLLOWUP IN WHICH TENSION MAY BE RELAXED, COOPERATION IMPROVED, BLOCS AND PACTS ERODED, ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND VIABILITY MAINTAINED, SOVIET HEGEMONY RESISTED AND EXPOSED TO MULTILATERAL MONITORING, AND CEAUSESCU'S ACTIVISM

AND PRESTIGE BOOSTED. WHILE RECENT BALKAN CONFERENCE IN ATHENS HAD MODEST RESULTS, ROMANIA HAS KEPT POT BOILING AND SEEMS BENT ON TRYING TO PROMOTE SOLIDER "STRUCTURES" TO THIS END. ROMANIA SENT OBSERVER TO SWISS MANEUVERS AND SOVIET OPERATION "CAUCASUS", AND NO DOUBT HOPES TO INFUSE MOR MEANING INTO CBM'S EVENTUALLY. GOR'S ANTIPATHY TOWARD SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, BLOCS, AND BALANCE OF POWER, CALLS FOR "REAL" MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT ON PAN-EUROPE SCALE, AND LUKEWARMNESS TOWARD MBFR AS PIECE MEAL UNREPRESENTATIVE FORUM HAVE MORE IN COMMON WITH YUGOSLAVS THAN SOVIET-LED EE'S.

5. BASKET TWO. GOR PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN MIXED BUT REASONABLY CREDITABLE. PURSUIT OF ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS, A NUMBER OF WHICH ARE ENSHRINED IN CSCE ACT, CONTINUED. GOR HAS SHOWN RESPONSIVENESS IN SOME AREAS BUT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY HOW MUCH CSCE ITSELF FIGURED IN THIS. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN FOREIGN BUSINESS FACILITATION: LATEST FIRM TO OPEN OFFICE (ENGLEHARD METALS AND MINERALS) FOUND ACQUISITION OF SUITABLE OFFICE AND LIVING SPACE MUCH EASIER THAN NORMAL (BUT PROBABLY MOSTLY BECAUSE FIRM'S PRESIDENT IS CO-CHAIRMAN OF U.S.-ROMANIAN ECONOMIC COUNCIL). DEPUTY PREMIER PATAN HAS CHARGED THREE MFT COUNSELORS TO REPORT DIRECTLY TO HIM IN FACILITATING DISCUSSIONS WITH U.S. FIRMS. MFT HAS ALSO PRODUCED LIST OF CONTACTS FOR U.S. FIRMS IN SELECTED MINISTRIES, FOREIG TRADE ORGANIZATIONS AND EVEN INDUSTRIAL CENTRALS. GOR RELEASED RAW DATA CONCERNING FIVE-YEAR PLAN FULFILLMENT IN ADDITION TO USUAL INDICES. ON WHOLE, HOWEVER, DATA REMAINS INADQUATE AND EMBASSY STILL EXPERIENCES SPORADIC PROBLEMS IN SETTING UP CONTACTS BETWEEN U.S. FRIMS AND ROMANIAN END-USERS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE ANY CSCE INFLUENCE IN INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, TOURISM OR ENVIRONMENT, ALTHOUGH ROMANIA CAN BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT PAN-EUROPEAN INITIATIVES SHOULD THEY TAKE SHAPE. GOR HAS BEEN ACTIVELY NEGOTIATING DOUBLE-TAXATION CONVENTIONS WITH WEST

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6. BASKET THREE. ALTHOUGH GOR HAS RESISTED SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL COORDINATION ATTEMPTS, ROMANIAN PUBLIC BASKET THREE LINE HAS HARDENED IN SOME RESPECTS, AND BUCHAREST, PUZZLINGLY, IS LAGGING BEHIND OTHER EE REGIMES IN PUTTING BETTER FACE ON MATTERS BEFORE BELGRADE MEETING. SUCH GOR SPOKESMEN AS FONMIN MACOVESCU (AND GLIGA, ABOVE) HAVE RECENTLY SHOWN PRICKLER SIDE AS IF SIGNALLING LIMITS BEYOND WHICH ROMANIA WON'T BE PUSHED. EMIGRATION TREND IS NOT TOO BAD CONSIDERING THAT GOR APPROVES CASES GENERALLY IN LARGE, PERIODIC BATCHES, NOT A STEADY STREAM. U.S.-ROMANIAN APPROVALS AT MOMENT ARE IN SLUMP BUT ISSUANCES CONTINUE UP BASED ON EARLIER APPROVALS AND PROSPECT IS FOR UPSWING NEAR MFN-REVIEW TIME. GERMAN AND JEWISH FIGURES DROPPED IN 1976, BUT MAINLY BECAUSE OF POOR FIRST SIX MONTHS BEFORE CSCE. GERMAN 1975 DEPARTURES WERE 4000-5500 (DEPENDING ON WHICH SOURCE IS QUERIED), LESS THAN 1974'S 8000. JEWS TO ISRAEL WERE ABOUT 2000, DOWN FROM OVER 3000. TIGHT GOR SCREENING AND APPROVAL OF TEMPORARY EXCHANGE AND VISITOR TRAVEL CONTINUES, AS DEFECTS REMAIN SERIOUS PROBLEM.

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EMIGRATION PROCEDURES TIGHTENED SOMEWHAT IN FALL 1975 WITH NEW PRE-APPLICATION FORM, SPECIAL "DISUASION COMMISSIONS" FOR APPLICANTS AND PUBLIC MEDIA ANTI-EMIGRATION CAMPAIGN BEING NEW FEATURES. MIXED MARRIAGES ENCOUNTERED STEPPED-UP MEDIA DISUASION, SPECIAL PANELS, AND AN ISSUANCE FREEZE BEGINNING OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, ALTHOUGH FONMIN MACOVESCU TOLD AMBASADOR THINGS WERE BEING "HELD UP" UNTIL GOR DECIDED WHETHER TO REVERSE POLICY (IN LIGHT WE WERE TOLD OF "PROBLEMS" ENCOUNTERED BY ROMANIANS ONCE THEY EMIGRATED TO SPOUSE'S

HOME COUNTRY). ALL THIS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MEANT TO COOL DOWN POPULACE'S POST-HELSINKI EXPECTATIONS.

7. ADDITIONALLY, FORTHCOMING MAY "CONGRESS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE" IS BEGINNING TO GENERATE MORE MILITANT IDEOLOGICAL NOISE THAN WE HAVE SEEN FOR YEARS. TONE IN FACT HAS TURNED QUITE NASTY, IN SPOTS, AS CONTEMPORANUL'S COMBATIVE LINE AGAINST WESTERN CULTURE HAS Oozed MORE INTO TV, RADIO, AND DAILY PRESS. HOW FAR THIS PRE-CONGRESS DOGMATIC DRIFT WILL BE PUSHED AND TO WHAT EXTENT CEAUSESCU MAY BE PUTTING MORE DISTANCE BETWEEN ROMANIA DEVELOPED WEST REMAINS FOR SUBSEQUENT ANALYSIS. CONTINUED APPEARANCE OF U.S. BICENTENNIAL MATERIALS, U.S. FILMS ON TV, A NEW HISTORY OF U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS 1916-20, AND PRIVATE REASSURANCES ARE OPPOSITE SIGNALS. FOR NOW WE TEND TO REGARD NASTIER ASPECTS AS CEAUSESCU'S WAY OF GETTING HIS OWN UNHAPPY INTELLIGENTSIA BACK INTO RANKS RATHER THAN REACTION TO MOSCOW'S DIRECTIVES. PATRIOTIC PROPAGANDA, IN FACT, HWHBEEN ON REAL BINGE, AND NATIONALIST, ANTI-RUSSIAN OVERTONES ARE AS EVIDENT AS ANTI-WESTERN CULTURAL ASPECTS. CULTURALLY, CEAUSESCU IS TRYING TO GO IT ALONE.

8. EXCHANGES. DURING MID-TERM REVIEW TALKS OF U.S. ROMANIAN PROGRAM OF EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION HELD IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH, GLIGA RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY TO ASEC HARTMAN'S REFERENCES TO IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PROGRAM IN LARGER CSCE CONTEXT. NEVERTHELESS, OBSTACLES REMAIN: E.G. COUNCIL OF STATE'S JULY 1975 DECREE 95 LIMITING ABSENCES ABROAD IN CERTAIN CATEGORIES TO PERIODS OF THREE MONTHS UNLESS APPROVED BY COUNCIL OF STATE. DESPITE ASSURANCES AT MID-TERM TALKS THAT DECREE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST PARTICIPANTS IN PROGRAM, ITS INFLUENCE REMAINS EVIDENT. ADDITIONALLY, GOR (THROUGH ARTICLES SIGNED LAST FALL BY D. GHISE, A VICE PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE AND EDUCATION) MADE CLEAR GOR PREFERENCE FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGES VIA GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS RATHER THAN DIRECT PRIVATE CONTACTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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ALTHOUGH EXCEPTIONS CONTINUE TO APPEAR. IT IS HOPED THAT PROVISIONS FOR SHORT-TERM GRANTS ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED BY GOR DURING MID TERM TALKS WILL PROVIDE MORE FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR EXCHANGES IN BASKET III CONTEXT.

9. SUGGESTED BILATERAL ACTIONS WITH GOR: SINCE ROMANIA CONTINUES TO HAVE VESTED INTERESTS IN CSCE FOLLOWUP (IN CONTRAST, GLIGA SAID TO SOVIETS WHO WANT TO KEEP IT SHORT AND SWEET AT BELGRADE IN 1977), GOR WILL BE UNDER SOME COMPULSION NOT TO GET TOO OVER-EXPOSED ON BASKET THREE DESPITE LACKLUSTER PERFORMANCE RECENTLY. USG DIALOGUE WITH GOR AS WE AGREED LAST FALL OUGHT TO BE KEPT IN POSITIVE PATTERN OF ON-GOING U.S. ROMANIAN CONSULTATION IN WHICH FRANKNESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT PREVAIL. AS NEXT STEPS, SUGGEST FOLLOWING:

-- PERIODIC MEETINGS BETWEEN AMBASSADOR AND LIPATTI (MFA, EUROPEAN MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS INCLUDING CSCE FOLLOWUP). (GLIGA IN FACT HAS AGREED TO THIS.) INITIALLY BASKET-BY-BASKET RUNDOWN TO BE ACCCOMPANIED BY LOOK AT ANY ROMANIAN PLANNING FOR BELGRADE MEETING.

-- IN THE CONTEXT OF FIRST MEETING, SPECIFIC DEMARCHE TO LIPATTI ON MIXED MARRIAGES. WE HAVE ABOUT 50 CASES HANGING. (FRG AMBASSADOR WICKERT LAST WEEK PRESENTED GERMAN LIST TO LIPATTI.)

-- GIVE ATTENTION TO CSCE ISSUES DURING VISIT OF STEFAN ANDREI, PARTY SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO U.S. LATER THIS SPRING IF IT MATERIALIZES.

-- USE NEGOTIATION OF LONGTERM BILATERAL ECONOMIC AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS JUNE MEETING OF ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC COUNCIL, TO PRESS BASKET TWO INTERESTS.

-- CONTINUE TO PRESS RESOLUTION OF DIVIDED-FAMILY AND MARRIAGE QUESTIONS AS NOW IN REGULAR EMBASSY DEALINGS WITH MFA, REINFORCED AS MFN RENEWAL DATE GROWS NEARER AS NEEDED WITH OFFICIALS LIKE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER PATAN.

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